

# SOCIAL ACTION

## WAR

and the

## Christian Church

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**Armistice Day Issue**



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**October 15, 1936**

# SOCIAL ACTION

National Organ of the Council for Social Action

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EDITORS NOTE: *We are printing two magazine issues in succession. The next two issues will be pamphlets.*

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# Message to the Churches

for Armistice Sunday, November 8th, 1936

from the

**Council for Social Action**

through its

**International Relations Committee\***

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For eighteen years the world has been living in a post-war era. But now the threat of war in Europe and the Far East forces us into a pre-war period. The psychology is very different. Regret gives way to apprehension, recriminations to warnings. But also, speculation must give way to thought.

Faced with so tragic a situation, we are pressed with the primary question: What course should America follow if war cannot be prevented abroad? From our position on the spiral of history, it seems plain enough that America can best serve the cause of peace by refusing to be drawn into the struggle. There must be some nation wise enough and self-disciplined enough not to draw the sword. This we believe to be the policy of our government. And we make it our own. America must keep out of war!

To urge this is not to plead for a narrow nationalism. Refusal to cooperate in war places upon us the added responsibility to cooperate in solving the problems which make for war. In doing that, we must join with other nations to organize the world for peace. America's leadership for peace includes not

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This statement expresses the majority point of view of the committee.

only the negative policy of refusal to join in war but also the positive policy of eliminating war's causes.

We shall not cease to plead for the international society. But today we must plead urgently for the need that is more immediate: Keep America from being drawn into war.

We realize that it is easier to urge this policy than to pursue it. To remain at peace, while other nations battle, would put a fearful strain upon our neutrality laws. It would inflict heavy financial losses upon American business and agriculture. We may be forced to choose, whether to give up foreign trade, with consequent unemployment and loss of profits, or to sacrifice our young men, our ideals, our integrity.

It seems to us that for the Christian there can be but one choice. If we know the will of God, it is the will to peace. Bombing airplanes do not hasten justice, security or freedom. The Prince of Peace is a resolute title. The followers of Jesus cannot do less than dedicate themselves to the building of a world in which war has no place.

Black as is the present outlook, this is no time to despair. Brotherhood is still the yearning of the race. God still strengthens those who make his righteousness their cause. Reasonableness may yet return to the councils of the nations; we can help restore it. Sight may be given to the leaders of men; we can help develop it by the measure of our own will to peace.

The Church has stood for peace in time of peace. Have we faith to stand for peace in time of war? The world may soon hurl us this challenge. God help us to stand faithful, stubbornly loyal to our convictions, now and when the bugle sounds

JOHN C. SCHROEDER

*Chairman, Council for Social Action*

THEODORE A. GREENE

*Chairman, International Relations Committee*

# Problems Confronting Neutrality

In the past "neutrality" brought us into war. It did so because it was associated with the doctrine of the "freedom of the seas." We have chosen to remain neutral in wars between other nations, but at the same time we have insisted on our rights as neutrals, by which we meant our right to trade with any or all of the belligerents.

"Neutrality" was one of the causes of our entrance into the World War. Before our participation in this conflict, we had loaned the warring nations approximately two billion dollars more than in peace time and had sold them about two billion dollars worth of goods in excess of peace time trade. This economic entanglement finally forced us into war.

In our modern world, a nation that stays out of conflict between foreign nations but which nevertheless insists upon the right to carry on its trade will get drawn into the conflict. This happened in 1812. It happened again in 1917.

Two Neutrality Acts, designed to restrict our trade in time of war, have been passed in the hope that we might avoid these earlier mistakes. The first Neutrality Act became law in August 1935. It expired in February 1936. Briefly it provided:

1. That an embargo on arms should be declared against all belligerents "on the outbreak or during the progress of war"
2. That a National Munitions Control Board be established
3. That it is unlawful for American vessels to carry arms, ammunition or implements of war to belligerents or to neutral ports for transshipment
4. That United States citizens travel on belligerent ships at their own risk
5. That United States ports not be used by belligerent warships or submarines

A second Neutrality Act was drafted during the last session of Congress. It became law on February 29, 1936.

While the committee was considering this new legislation



### THE ROAD TO WAR

Wash. (D. C.), D.

"People engaged in a trade war are not at peace, and today international trade is undoubtedly a kind of war. Its very language is the language of war. We talk of the fight for markets, of tariff wars, of commercial invasion, protection, conquest. We make a boast of saying that the flag follows trade. . . What we have to face, then, is the simple fact that at present trade is organized in such a way that it leads to war."

—Lady Rhondda, Editor, Time and Tide (London)

to restrict our neutral rights during war, the Italo-Ethiopian conflict made a perfect "case in point." Here we saw vividly the complications of the problem. Did we really want to extend the legislation to include embargoes on supplementary war materials, such as cotton, copper, lead? Did we want to be in a position where we could not help League members if war broke out between them and Italy? Did we dare face the possibilities of depression, due to abandoned foreign trade?

Opinions were so conflicting that no clear solution of the problem was possible. Besides, pressure groups were pushing hard against a stricter embargo policy. The administration itself vacillated, and gave only lukewarm support to its own bill. Consequently when the first act expired, another short-term law was passed. It will expire May 1, 1937.

What are the essential features of this second Neutrality Act?

1. *It provides that an arms embargo shall be declared whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war, and requires him to extend that embargo to "all subsequent belligerents."* At the outbreak of war the embargo is mandatory and automatic; the President has no discretion nor does he have any power to favor one belligerent as against another.
2. *It prohibits financial assistance to nations at war, by placing an embargo on loans and credits.* This provision is a result of the widespread belief that the United States entered the World War because of our loans to the Allies. It is an extension of the arms embargo idea and, like it, is mandatory and impartial.
3. *It makes an exception of American republics.* No embargo will be placed against them if they are engaged in a war against a non-American state. This clearly is in line with our Pan-American policy and the Monroe Doctrine.

What are the various suggestions for improvement of our existing Neutrality laws? There are three divergent points of view.

The first is held by a group which includes John Bassett Moore and Professor Edwin M. Borchard. They believe that we should return to the old "freedom of the seas" policy,

abandoning the newer concept of neutrality. They would urge us to defend our neutral rights. Theirs is a minority opinion today.

It is upon the other two points of view that international lawyers and peace workers are concentrating. For the sake of brevity these two positions may be described as isolation and collective action or cooperation.

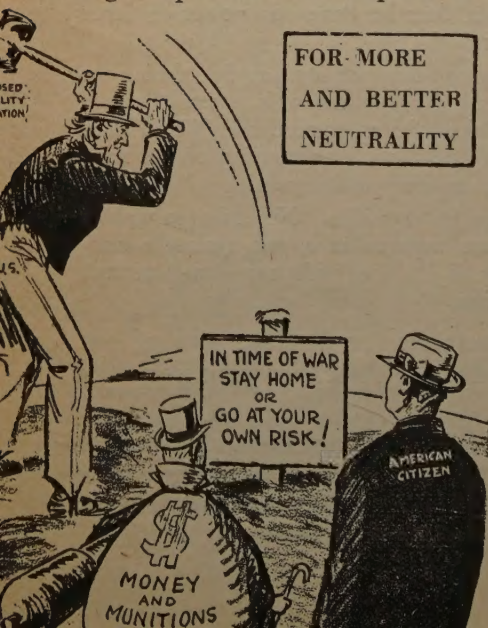
There are few facts available to prove the rightness or wrongness of either of these two positions, because neither has been adequately experimented with.

The isolationist advocates a further extension of our present neutrality legislation to include an embargo on all raw materials. He would prohibit the export to belligerents of all commodities useful in war, even clothing and food. Certainly, in order to be logical, such an extension would be necessary.

This position reflects the fear of European entanglements. It is easily understood, in view of the recent failures of the League and because of present insecurity abroad. It is the logical position of the person who fears the implications of

the economic and military sanctions in the League Covenant.

The person who advocates international cooperation or collective action believes that peace can be obtained only if the United States will join with other nations to prevent war from breaking out anywhere. The United States, such a person believes, has a moral duty under the Pact of Paris, which outlaws war, to help in the organization of a peaceful world. He



would give the President, with the consent of Congress, some discretion in the placing of embargoes, so that League members in action against an aggressor will not be dealt with on the same basis as the nation violating its treaty pledges.

Strict neutrality legislation, it is believed, will simply mean that militaristic nations will be emboldened in their aggression, knowing that the United States will remain impartial. Such a policy, it is thought, will force all nations into greater preparedness during peacetime, since when war breaks out they can expect no trade with the United States in munitions or even raw materials.

It is not quite fair, of course, to draw so fine a line between these two positions—isolation and collective action. Yet in the final analysis all logical thought about our foreign policy starts from one or the other of these two positions. The United States will be forced to make its choice.

## For Cooperation Between Nations

Eternal God, Father of all souls, grant unto us such clear vision of the sin of war that we may earnestly seek that cooperation between nations which alone can make war impossible. As man by his inventions has made the whole world into one neighborhood, grant that he may, by his cooperations, make the whole world into one brotherhood. Help us to break down all race prejudice; stay the greed of those who profit by war and the ambitions of those who seek an imperialistic conquest drenched in blood. Guide all statesmen to seek a just basis for international action in the interest of peace. Arouse in the whole body of the people an adventurous willingness, as they sacrificed greatly for war, so, also, for international goodwill, to dare bravely, think wisely, decide resolutely, and to achieve triumphantly. Amen.

—HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

# The Economic Causes of War

Peace loving people are greatly concerned over the fact that Germany again is on the road to war. So peacemakers discuss anew such questions as democracy, disarmament, sanctions, and neutrality. The warmakers however speak in other terms. Notice, for example, the following statement of Adolf Hitler to his people late in September:

"There may be countries that can afford democracy. Perhaps if we had four or five million square kilometers of colonies, if we had only six or eight inhabitants per square kilometer, if we had surplus grain, coal and raw materials such as copper, tin and zinc, and if oil were just flowing out of our soil as elsewhere, then perhaps we could also afford democracy. . . . Germany will remain true to the form that alone assures her life, the form in which there is less talk and *much more action*."

It may puzzle some of us when we thus find the subject of colonies and raw materials injected into the discussion.

## What is the Connection between Raw Materials and Peace?

The strength of a nation and the welfare of its people are dependent upon its capacity for industrialization. But industries cannot operate without necessary raw materials such as coal, iron, and cotton. It so happens that no nation has all of the raw materials which are essential to its industries. It must get some commodities from other nations. It happens also that no nation has enough gold with which to buy these needed materials. Thus, each has to exchange its own goods in return for them.

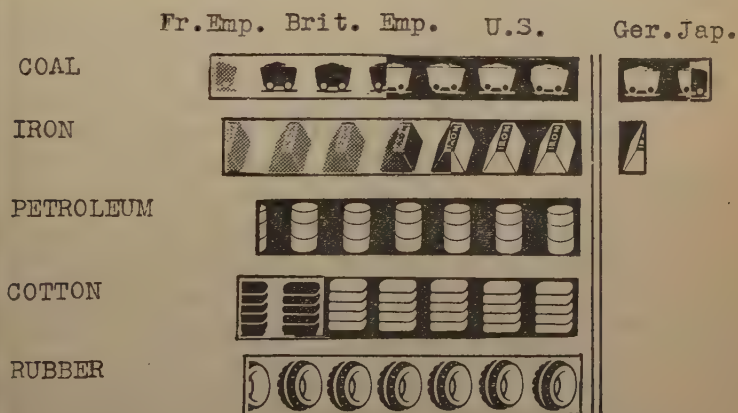
Since industrial nations must exchange the goods of which they have a surplus for the goods of which they have a scarcity, they have sought to fulfil this need by gaining control of non-industrial nations or colonies. Thus we find today that the

United Kingdom holds together an empire 132 times its own size, that France controls an area 22 times her size, and that the United States has dependencies equalling one-fifth her own area. Other leading nations with colonies are Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Japan. Germany's colonies were taken away from her in the treaty of Versailles.

### How are Essential Raw Materials Distributed?

The raw materials most essential to modern industry include coal, iron, copper, lead, zinc, tin, nickel, sulphur, petroleum, cotton, wool, wood pulp, and rubber. Out of 36 important raw materials the British Empire produces 30; the French Empire, 28; the United States, 25; Japan, 21; Italy, 12; and Germany, 9. It is estimated that the United States and the British Empire control 75 per cent of all mineral resources. The accompanying chart shows how much more of the impor-

PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS, 1930-33



Each symbol equals 10% total world production

tant raw materials are produced by the 'rich' nations than by the 'poor' nations.

### **Can the Nations Buy Raw Materials?**

Those countries without necessary raw materials within their own boundaries or in their colonies usually have been able to buy them from other countries. During 1929-32 when industrial activity was declining and unemployment increasing, and when currency was unstable, the nations raised tariff walls against imports, and established quota restrictions, foreign exchange regulation, import controls, clearing agreements, and governmental and private trading monopolies. As a result the flow of world trade was reduced by 25 per cent.

No country suffered more from these developments than Germany, which had been obliged to export goods to make reparations and interest payments and to pay for essential raw materials. When the United States applied the Hawley-Smoot high tariff schedule in 1930 and Great Britain adopted a protective tariff policy in 1932, it amounted virtually to declaring economic war against Germany.

Since 1932, industrial production among the nations has climbed back to the 1929 level. But the nations are refusing to increase their imports proportionately. Thus, the problem of obtaining raw materials for increased production is more serious for Germany, Italy and Japan now than ever before. These nations have had to curtail imports of essential food in order to have enough foreign exchange to buy raw materials. The principle has been well stated, that "when goods cannot cross borders, armies will." It is not surprising that the 'hungry' nations have replied to the economic challenge of England and America with a military challenge—with the rallying cry, "Cannons instead of butter."

### **How Can Raw Materials be More Evenly Distributed?**

The fact is now admitted that unequal access to raw materials constitutes one of the principal threats to world peace.

The British Foreign Secretary said before the League of Nations late in 1935:

"It is fear of monopoly—of the withholding of essential colonial raw materials—that is causing alarm. . . . I suggest that emphasis in the terms of reference should fall upon the free distribution of such raw materials among industrial countries which require them so that all fear of exclusion and monopoly may be removed once for all."

At about the same time the United States' Secretary of State stated that the nations must endeavor to agree upon—

"the organization and principles which will assure that all important raw materials will become available on reasonable terms wherever they are needed."

One solution that readily suggests itself is a redistribution of colonies. This method is particularly popular with the nations that have nothing to distribute! As one looks through the list of colonies that may be exchanged, one finds that they contain insignificant quantities of raw materials. This is true even of the colonies which the Allies took away from Germany. There are very few who advocate this 'solution' to the problem.

Most students of the problem advocate a more equal distribution of raw materials rather than of colonies. They would do this by extending a principle already in operation. In the mandated territories set up at the close of the war, which are administered by individual nations under the supervision of the League of Nations, it is provided that equal trading privileges be extended to all nations. It is urged that this practice should be made general, that, through international agreement and organization, *equal access to the raw materials of a given nation should be guaranteed to all foreign nations.* This would remove the financial advantages of political control and with it the incentive to go to war for colonies or to maintain and build empires.

## How Will Nations Obtain Purchasing Power to Supply their Needs?

Guaranteeing to all nations access to raw materials on equal terms solves the problem of supply. But in order to obtain foreign exchange with which to buy raw materials, nations must export goods and services. Fortunately, most nations are willing and able to do this whenever other nations will accept their exports. The problem therefore is one of lowering tariffs and other restrictions on imports so that 'poor' nations may export their goods and thus be able to obtain purchasing power for necessary raw materials. Obviously, this responsibility to reduce trade barriers falls on all nations, but on none so much as on the United States.

## What is the United States' Responsibility?

There are five reasons why the United States should take the lead among nations in increasing its imports:

1. It is a creditor nation; debtor nations can pay their bills to us only in imported goods.
2. It is one of the few nations possessing enough gold and credit with which to pay for an excess of imports over exports.
3. It is a chief source of raw materials and can therefore easily increase its exports by increasing its imports.
4. It is a neutral nation and can deal freely with all other nations.
5. Since geographic factors place the United States in the least danger of military attack, it is in the logical position to expand its imports in an attempt to check the present drive in Europe for self-sufficiency—a policy which is adapted only to war and can lead only to war.

United States' imports and exports have shown an encouraging growth in recent months. This is in sharp contrast with the record of 1929-34, when we took the lead among the nations in reducing our imports, dropping them from 12.4 per cent of the world total in dollars to 8.2 per cent.

This reversal of trend is accounted for partly by the reciprocal trade agreements which the United States had signed with 14 nations by October. In these agreements each party

extends to the other the same commercial treatment that it extends to its most-favored-nation. The effectiveness of these agreements is limited however by provision of the Trade Agreements Act that no tariffs shall be eliminated and that the reduction in no case shall be more than 50 per cent.

As imports increase, they will compete still more with the products of some farms and factories. At the same time they will result in increased exports of the products of other farms and factories. Certain readjustments would have to be made. Increasing imports may aggravate the problem of unemployment. If so, the government should consider paying a dismissal wage to persons losing their jobs in this way.

The solution here proposed will not be easy to carry out. It has the virtue, however, of being specific and of meeting the question posed by Germany, Italy, and Japan. It seems to be the only way that Americans can make needed raw materials available to the nations which do not have them and which are determined to get them.

The alternative seems to be war. Even if the United States were able to keep out of war through neutrality legislation, she will do so at great cost to herself, greater cost than is involved in the above proposals. What is worse, that war would leave an inequality that will lead to new balances of power and new threats to peace in years to come.

If Americans believe in peace, let them yield one of those things for which nations fight—food for their families and their factories—by removing present restrictions on trade.



HANDS ACROSS THE TARIFF WALLS

# Defense of U. S. Against Invasion

The people who live on the Main Streets of America hate war. But most of them want the protection of what they call "an adequate national defense."

What does "an adequate national defense" mean?

The Navy's viewpoint is contained in a document called "U. S. Naval Policy." This statement has the approval of the Secretary of the Navy, and implicitly, of the national government.

The "fundamental naval policy of the United States," it says, "is to maintain the Navy in sufficient strength *to support the national policies and commerce*, and to guard the Continental and overseas possessions of the United States." It lists, among other things, the following policies:

"To create, maintain, and operate *a navy second to none* and in conformity with Treaty provisions.

"To develop the Navy to a maximum in battle strength and ability *to control the sea in defense of the nation and its interests*.

"To protect American lives and property.

"To support American interests, especially the development of American foreign commerce and the merchant marine."

Thus, the Navy exists to "support the national policies." What are these "national policies?" According to Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, "The three cardinal principles of our American foreign policy are (1) the rights of neutrals; (2) the Monroe Doctrine; and (3) the open door. *It is folly*" he says, *"to think that we can maintain an influence for peace, defend the rights of smaller and neutral peoples, and protect our commerce and the rights of our nationals abroad without a Navy commensurate with our rank and power."*

Army Policy is contained in "The National Defense Act," enacted June 4, 1920.

Under the authority of this Act the War Department has prepared plans for mobilizing man-power which are calculated to provide 11,000,000 men between the ages of 21 and 30, from which approximately 4,000,000 will constitute a Class One available during the first twelve months of a "major conflict." General Summerall, a former Chief of Staff, has stated that a minimum *for defense of the territorial United States "against a possible invading force"* would be 2,000,000 combatants to be made available during the first year of the war. But the Act itself calls for twice that number. Why? "The primary object of the National Defense Act . . . is not confined to defense of American territory," is the comment of the Foreign Policy Association.

Neither Army or Navy Policy is directed *exclusively* to the defense of the United States against invasion. Yet that is the only justification which most Americans are ready to make for an Army and Navy.

It appears, then, that the government is either pursuing a national defense policy which is out of keeping with the wishes of American citizens or about which they do not know. There is a third alternative. Perhaps many who want to be defended against invasion *also* want these other things which the Army and Navy are groomed to accomplish.

The national defense policy of our country should be determined not by the Army and Navy but by Congress and by the people.

For what purposes, now, do people want an Army and Navy? When we have set those purposes down, we shall be in a better position to determine whether our military and naval forces are too small, too large, or just right.

Here are some of the possible functions of our armed forces:

# 1. TO SUPPORT THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN DEFEATING AN AGGRESSOR NATION.

Some persons believe that the United States should join with League members in military sanctions against a nation violating the League Covenant. If this is to be done, then we must develop an Army and Navy to act outside our borders in offensive warfare.

# 2. TO STOP THE SPREAD OF DICTATORSHIP AND TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY.

There are those who believe that war between fascism and democracy is inevitable, and that the United States must be prepared to face it. If this is our policy—a defense adequate to participate in such a war—then we must effect alliances with other democratic nations and place our armed power behind their diplomacy. There are those, however, who remember that the last war was presumably fought to save democracy, and who therefore doubt whether democracy can be defended by war.

# 3. TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL PRESTIGE AND TO GIVE THE UNITED STATES AN INFLUENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS



Some persons believe that, if we reduced our armaments to a pure defense-against-invasion level, we would become a second-rate power. Others think that the prestige gained from military exploits and sword-rattling is of little real value. Consequently, they do not believe it is worth its cost in money and in lives.

#### 4. TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

In time of war between great powers, the trade of neutral nations is usually interfered with. Ships are stopped on the high seas. Cargoes are confiscated. Vessels are sunk. Lives are lost. The difficulties for neutral shipping in time of foreign wars are evident from our experience in 1914-17. We finally entered the war in defense of these neutral rights. Some persons believe that our neutral rights are worth fighting for, and favor armaments adequate to protect and enforce them. Others think that war must be avoided, even if trade is lost, and thus do not favor their protection by armaments.

#### 5. TO DEFEND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Heretofore the United States has thought of itself as the protector of this continent against the aggression of non-American nations. If we expect to guarantee the security of the continent, our armaments will have to be built accordingly. There are those, however, who fail to see why the United States should assume such extensive obligations to Latin America.

#### 6. TO PROTECT THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA AND TO STOP THE SPREAD OF JAPANESE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION IN ASIA.

Under the policy of the Open Door the citizens of all nations are guaranteed equal trading rights in China. This policy is now threatened by Japan's military and economic conquest.



Our Chinese trade is about 1 to 2 per cent of our total foreign trade. In 1933 American investments amounted to \$132,000,000, exclusive of missions property. Some business men, noting that exports to Japan increased from \$3,000,000 to \$228,000,000 in the period 1880 to 1928 expect that some day our trade with China may increase in the same way. They believe that we should, therefore, withstand the economic and political domination of Japan.

There are those, however, who believe that this resistance will ultimately mean war. They point out that in such a war we will lose a very good customer, since Japan buys more from us than does China, that the war might last five years, and that it would cost us some \$400 billion.

## 7. TO PROTECT U. S. TERRITORY AGAINST INVASION.

Those who advocate this policy would limit the territory to be defended, in the Pacific area, to Alaska, Hawaii, the Panama Canal and our western coast, in the Atlantic, to our seacoast and our possessions in the West Indies.

Fear of invasion of our eastern coast is rarely expressed. It is in the west that people see the possibility of successful invasion. Are they justified in their fear?

Says Hector C. Bywater, prominent naval authority, "The chances are all against successful interference with the (Panama) Canal." He says that it would "be physically impossible for a Japanese squadron to attack the Canal unless it had a base near at hand." He further asserts, "There is less reason than ever to include an invasion of the American mainland among the possible events of a future war . . . a strong fleet based upon Pearl Harbour (Hawaii) would be favourably situated for defending the Pacific Coast, as well as the oversea territories in Alaska and Samoa."

The Morrow Board in 1925 reported to the government that "there is no present reason for any apprehension of any in-

vasion from overseas directly by way of air; nor indeed is there any apparent probability of such invasion in any future which can be foreseen."

How large an Army and Navy is needed to accomplish the end of defending U. S. soil against invasion? We do not know. We know, however, that *our armaments are today being built up not alone to defend our soil but to support our policies*, and that the latter purpose would theoretically at least require armaments much larger than would the former. *We should petition our government to make a survey to discover whether our present Army and Navy are any larger than are needed simply to defend U. S. territory against invasion.*

The time has come to choose. What do we want our Army and Navy to accomplish? Is it to support national policies or is it to defend our soil against invasion? Upon our choice is largely dependent the peace of the future.

## Review of 178,000 Plebiscite Votes

I believe as a Christian I should bear arms in or otherwise support

*Only a war in which United States' territory has been invaded* ..... 33%

*No war which the United States government may declare* ..... 15%

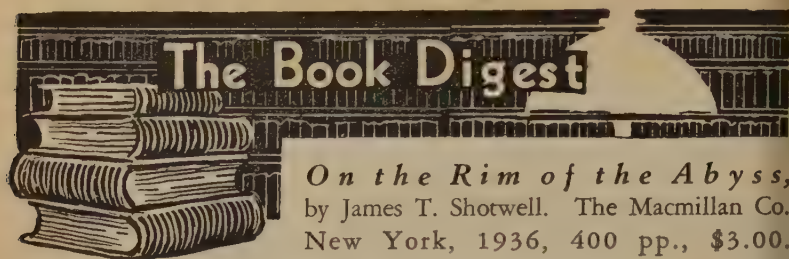
I will work for peace by advocating for our country—

*Consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg Pact and other peace agreements* ..... 88%

*National isolation through strict neutrality legislation* ..... 60%

*More equal distribution of world resources and markets* ..... 84%

*A larger army, navy and air force* ..... 43%



*On the Rim of the Abyss*,  
by James T. Shotwell. The Macmillan Co.  
New York, 1936, 400 pp., \$3.00.

In March 1919 Professor Shotwell proposed to the Paris Peace Conference that the Covenant of the League of Nations be changed to provide associate membership for those nations which might not accept full obligations of membership. The few short months since the Armistice had already shown how varied were the attitudes and policies of the nations which had been invited to join the League. The purpose of the proposed amendment was to keep these nations within the League and yet not involve them beyond their own interest in the international neighborhood.

### A Reformed League of Nations Proposed

Dr. Shotwell now suggests the reconsideration of the form and structure of the League of Nations along the lines of this earlier proposal which received so little attention in 1919. In the course of his discussion he makes a thorough analysis of such matters as neutrality, isolation, nationalism; the Pact of Paris and the Good Neighbor policy; the changing conditions in Europe and Africa, Japan's testing of the peace machinery, world disarmament. We pass these issues by to concentrate on the matter of central interest, namely, the suggestions for a new form of international organization for peace in which the United States might participate.

The general thesis of the book is picturesquely stated in a parallel which M. Paul-Boncour once drew between Dante's *Inferno* and the hell which is war. He pictured the nations as in an abyss shaped in concentric circles. On the outer rim was the greatest security. These concentric circles narrow

down toward the bottom of the abyss. Those who reside down there are most threatened by war and have suffered most from it.

Now, says M. Paul-Boncour, while modern war threatens all nations, it does not threaten them in equal degree. The nations on the outer rim in any particular war crisis, whose interests are not immediately threatened, will not easily be prevailed upon to join in the collective effort to enforce peace against an aggressor. On the other hand, the nations whose self-interest is intimately threatened are willing to accept such obligations. He therefore urged a universal system of collective security which would be formed in concentric circles of graded responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

#### **Would be Based on Regions**

Dr. Shotwell sees, since 1920, a trend toward regionalism in world organization for peace. The failures of European nations to live up to the strict construction of the Covenant in Asia, where Japan marched into Manchuria, and in South America, where the war between Bolivia and Paraguay raged for years, simply reveal the fact that European nations will not fight a war in areas where they do not find their interests threatened. They are in this respect no different from the United States, which has again and again indicated its reluctance to accept "foreign entanglements" which might require war where its interest is not involved. World organization for peace, he believes, must be built upon regional responsibilities. It is absurd, he says, to assume, in case of a disturbance in one part of the world, that all members of the League would be expected to join in measures of peace enforcement, any more than it would be expected that cities or provinces within a country should send their police to every center of local disturbance.

Contrary to popular belief, there has been an evolution in this direction of the League Covenant itself. The main stumbling block to the entry of the United States into the League has been Article XVI, which calls for the exercise of economic

and military sanctions against an aggressor nation. There is in this article no hint of a gradation of responsibility for the application of sanctions. However, the League was scarcely under way before an exception was made whereby Switzerland should not be obliged to take part in any collective military action. Later, at the request of the Scandinavian governments, it was declared that states applying the economic sanction to nationals should be guided by their own best judgment as to whether some of the measures proposed were wise or not. In respect to military, naval or air measures of peace enforcement, the Covenant, from the first, provided that each government should be its own judge as to how far it could meet the recommendations of the Council. Thus there has been a tendency toward a gradation of responsibility.

### Some Illustrations

The relation of the League members to Italy in the Ethiopian dispute also illustrates this tendency to substitute a gradation of responsibility for the absolute and equal demands of Article XVI.

First, with respect to *economic* sanctions. France blocked the application of a boycott against Italy, because she feared that Mussolini would take revenge by throwing his support to Hitler, who worries France much more than does Mussolini. While the Ethiopian war was still under way, Germany invaded the Rhineland. Now it was Great Britain who opposed the imposition of a boycott, for Great Britain did not want to see Hitler, in revenge, support Mussolini in his threat to the British empire.

Economic sanctions must be universally applied to be fully effective, yet since the nations do not always have the same interest at stake, gradation of responsibility must be accepted. The nations most intimately concerned must be willing to go farthest, while nations only remotely concerned must be asked to accept only a smaller responsibility.

Secondly, with respect to *military* sanctions. In 1935 Musso-

ini was reported to have threatened war against League members who participated in economic sanctions against Italy. Immediately the British government assured League members whose position exposed them to possible attack from Italy that in event of any such attack she was prepared to support them. In its memorandum the British government declared that the situation "calls for the special cooperation of those Members of the League who by reason of their military situation or their geographical position are most immediately concerned." Thus was the principle of graded responsibility recognized with respect to military sanctions.

#### How the United States Can Work with the League

Dr. Shotwell is not pessimistic about world peace, despite the experience of recent years. He believes, however, that until the League and the United States can work as one, the peace of the world will continue to be insecure." How can they work together?

The League, Dr. Shotwell suggests, could easily provide for the representation of the United States upon its Council at such times as the United States is especially concerned in the issue at stake. Cooperation in collective action would imply that the United States should withhold munitions and war materials from an aggressor nation, thus giving support to the League members in their effort to establish world order. We would also have the more positive responsibility of participating in conferences for the solving of economic and political problems. This latter will be the major work of any reformed League, for there must be a development from a "League to Enforce Peace" to a "League of Conferences" for the settlement of problems which have heretofore led to world conflict.

Dr. Shotwell favors our membership in the League on the terms of the Pope resolution. This calls for full freedom of the United States government to decide what action it shall take in case the peace of nations is threatened or violated, and for the recognition of the Pact of Paris as the fundamental and guiding principle of the League covenant.

## THE CHRISTIANS DID IT

### Examples of Christian Social Action

The other day a woman said to me that *peace* was a sissy word. But she herself is a sissy woman, the sort who explains proudly that she lets the big broad-shouldered men of her family tell her how to vote and which grocery store to trade at. Obviously, she thinks of peace as a negative quality, an absence of action.

She thinks that if she rears her two handsome little sons to be peace-makers, then they will lose the stalwart qualities for which their forebears have been famous. And so, in front of them, she said that peace was a sissy word and that she wanted her boys to be brave and to fight when they were needed. Whereupon they picked up their toy guns and marched down the steps.

She watched them for a moment. Then she turned back with fear-filled eyes and talked about the dreadful day when those beautiful bodies should be torn by shells or mutilated by bayonets. She cried for a while. Then bravely dried her eyes and said that nevertheless she did not want her boys exposed to any talk of pacifism.

Poor thing, she was all mixed up. She really believed that 'action' and 'war' were somehow related terms dependent upon one another; that the qualities which she admired as distinctly masculine were the products of fighting. And furthermore she enjoyed the light purging of emotions which followed a burst of nervous sentimentalism. Feeling completely inadequate to 'do anything about it,' she had to defend the war-system and prepare to make her sacrifice.

She did not know that peace is an invincible word. And that the peace-maker has to be as hard-headed as a New England farmer who turns out early and plants his seed before the weeds get started, as canny as a horse trader, as relentless

s a broncho-buster. A peace-maker is not only a man of action but a man who acts first.

If she really meant business about the fine young bodies of her boys and the fine stalwart qualities of their souls, she would cease to follow a traditional pattern in votes and grocery stores. For votes and grocery stores are among the prime constituents of peace. It would be difficult to find a war which was not rooted in the privileges of trade. And in the next war—the one which is likely to arrive even before her sons are grown—it will matter very much indeed how the workers stand, the men and women who raise the grain and manufacture the flour and bake the bread which her grocery sells, the men and women who hold out for a living wage and decent hours and adequate housing and their share of fuel, food, and fun. If she had the will to peace, she would find out about such things even if she had to read books and demand open forum discussions and sometimes march with the unemployed and get onto local housing commissions and civil liberties committees and—well, she'd find out that peace-makers are among the earth's most active citizens.

She would also vote, and not always as her nice men-folk tell her. She'd know why she was voting, and for whom. She'd discover—don't think she wouldn't—the relation between the men she elected and their policies of reciprocal trade, banking regulations, of farm loans and a host of other things which she now believes are beyond—or beneath—her.

After she had learned these things, by dint of her own persistent effort, she would no longer be caught saying that peace is a sissy word. For she would no longer be a sissy citizen and a dead-weight Christian. She would know that peace is about the most active word in current usage.



United States naval expenditures increased from \$297,029 in 1934 to \$609,097 for 1937.

## Peace Action for Local Groups

You want peace. Here are some suggestions for things you can do. The busiest of us can take hold somewhere—if we really mean it that we want peace.

1. *Get informed and keep informed.* Read SOCIAL ACTION regularly. Join one of the peace organizations described on page 31 of this magazine; read its bulletin. Borrow books on international affairs and world peace from your local library.

2. *Organize the peace sentiment of your church.* Help your pastor set up some discussion meetings, perhaps calling in a prominent person to address you. Persuade every church organization—men's club, women's association, young people's society, church school—to have at least one meeting on peace. If you are a minister, of course you will preach on peace. Use peace posters on your bulletin board. Distribute peace literature.

### *A Christian Church with a National Message*





### *A Christian Church with an International Message*

3. *Organize the peace sentiment of your town.* Find out what peace organization is active in your town; join it; help it function. If none exists, work with your pastor in calling together the heads of local organizations—churches, service clubs, parent-teachers association, and others—to form one.

4. *Speak out for peace whenever the occasion presents itself.* Counteract militaristic propaganda by writing letters to your local paper, by communicating with your Congressmen (do you know who they are?), by taking the side of peace in any conversation about world affairs.

5. *Attend an Institute of International Relations next summer.* The Council for Social Action cooperates with the Quakers in nine institutes. Last year 171 Congregationalists attended. It cost them from \$12 at Durham to \$35 at some others. Save ten days for peace education in 1937.

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*The C.S.A. endorses the Emergency Peace Campaign. Support it in your community.*

## Introducing New CSA Chairman

Arthur Holt has gone to India for a year of study and lecturing. Of course, no one can take his place as Chairman of the Council for Social Action.



John C. Schroeder

Arthur Holt has a place in American life and the Congregational-Christian brotherhood which is his own. The Council would not have come into being without him. His spiritual and intellectual insights were molded into it. When the story of the Council is written a hundred years from now, the name of Arthur Holt will be gratefully remembered. We are glad that it is only a year for which we have loaned him to India.

Now we welcome John Schroeder to the Chairmanship. He will not take Arthur Holt's place, but he will make his own.

John Schroeder is one of the men who should persuade the most cynical that the ministry possesses a perennial power of creation. Not yet forty, he has won a place of assured respect. He is a scrapper. He had to fight for his education in New York's City College, Union Seminary, Columbia and Harvard. He knows how men and women and children ache and hope. He has an encouraging disrespect for the solemn hum-bugs and pretentious stuffed-shirts accounted great in an era of worry. His mind cuts, his spirit is sensitive. Many of his warmest friends disagree heartily with him, but they would be the first to protest against any limiting of his freedom.

## Peace Organizations and Bulletins

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Middle-of-the-road organization emphasizing the electing of peace-minded legislators to office. Publishes "Peace Action," 50c. a year.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Advocates a liberal educational and legislative program.

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. Left-wing organization composed of many groups opposed to imperialistic war and fascism. Publishes "Fight," \$1.00 a year.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Advocates religious pacifism. Publishes "Fellowship," \$1.00 a year.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Opposes military training in schools and colleges. Publishes "Breaking the War Habit," 25c. a year.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. For cultivation of public opinion favoring the League.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Research agency of first rank. Publishes monthly "Reports" and weekly news bulletins on world events. Also the publisher of "Headline Books."

WORLD EVENTS, Wilton, Conn. Semi-monthly news and research bulletin, 25c. a year.

# The Struggle for Peace — A Selected Reading List

*On the Rim of the Abyss*, by James T. Shotwell. Macmillan, 1936, 400 pp., \$3.00. See the Book Digest in this issue.

*The Road to War*, by Walter Millis. Houghton, 1935, 466 pp., \$3.00. How and why the United States entered the World War.

*Peace or War: the American Struggle 1636-1936*, by Merle Curti. Norton, 374 pp., \$3.00. An account of the struggle against war, from colonial times to the present.

*Preface to Chaos: War in the Making*, by C. Hartley Grattan. Dodge, 1936, 341 pp., \$3.00. How war is made; the actual and potential war power of the great nations; the consequences of the next war.

*Place in the Sun*, by Grover Clark. Macmillan, 1936, 235 pp., \$2.50. "Attempts to show that the economic and political profits resulting from the possession of colonies are not sufficient to compensate for the sufferings and hardships endured by the common people in the process of acquisition."

*Headline Books*, by Foreign Policy Association. 38 pp., 25c. (paper). Designed to give a quick and adequate understanding of world affairs; pictorial charts and graphic illustrations make the facts vivid. Discussion programs (15c) with study outlines, charts, and reprints have been prepared in connection with each book. Titles include:

*War Tomorrow: Will We Keep Out?*

*Clash in the Pacific*

*War Drums and Peace Plans*

*World Affairs Books*, by the World Peace Foundation:

*America Must Act*, by F. B. Sayre. 80 pp., 35c.

Deals with economic nationalism.

*Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War*, by Norman Angell. 46 pp., 35c.

*American Neutrality in a Future War*, by the Foreign Policy Association, 1935, 36 pp., 25c.

*Raw Materials in World Politics*, by the Foreign Policy Association. 1936, 16 pp., 25c.

*Military Training in Schools and Colleges*, National Peace Conference. 1936, 16 pp., 10c.